*539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few güíos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

• [648] [829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

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20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

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175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.'"

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniquaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called 648 "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

/16 cont./

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/footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

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By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

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Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

/17/

175 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas"
• 648 (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José
648 do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of
797 the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated
648 orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

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175
• 648 In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xié, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

[797] Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Participação segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

4: Silva--21 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 2 cont./ On p. 70 he reports of Coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont, upon inviting the Mucunas Indians to settle in Tabocas, Apaporis River, that he heard from their principal /chief/, Maimanaca, that they would do it, "Provided, however, that he would have sent to them a vicar to baptize and indoctrinate them, as they greatly wished, and had requested in vain not a few times; but by no means the Director, because they were very well informed about the conduct of all of them with regard to the Indians in our towns, managing only to destroy them and not to edify them."

The Presidente of the Província, Conselheiro /Counselor/ Herculano Ferreira Pena, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/," on October 1, 1853, after recognizing that the noble plans of catechizing and educating the Indians had failed, affirmed: -- "For a /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ very simple and generally well-known reason, that is, because of the lack of faithful executors when the old Missionaries have disappeared, the ones who put their hearts into this enterprise, worthy certainly of Vieira, Nobregas, and Anchieta.

"By eliminating the Jesuits, the Portuguese government did not foresee that it was thus also ordering the destruction of the Indians, who, during the period of two centuries, had lived happily and contentedly under the paternal tutelage of those Religious; on the contrary, the famous Ministro del Rei D. José understood that this tutelage could advantageously be replaced by the command of the Directors then created; but the new system unfortunately did not have any effects other than the decline of the aldeias already formed, and

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/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

4: Silva--23 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/18 cont./

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With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity.

[103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Naná-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/66 cont./
000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
• 648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

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*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1)), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom. [191]

According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19). [115] [648] [567]

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

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• 648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Rio Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Carurú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/87 cont./

*101 In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality: or vice versa (29)?

[103] [648]

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

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* 101 [142] The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõã-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

[721] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20 years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

[648] [266]

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• 648 466 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that 428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 466 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance. It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fàbrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indi[illegible]s; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has 648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

123 431 At the time of our first excursion to the Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

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• 648
577 Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

[797] The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

• 648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

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taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

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In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80).

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

[466] [164] [273]

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died
[648] of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/374 cont./

121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
721 --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha,
[567] Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty
• 648 years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/
726 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
• 648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Jahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

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881 All these premarital relations (115)

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> 115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nÿákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements [628] of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for 567 the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position 831 of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they • 648 must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

588 When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for 628 the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, 648 Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have 833 likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian indi- 881 viduals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage 835 entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

/387 cont./

628 831 • 678 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

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592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

• 648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i)).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] [466] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

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54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

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55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komĩ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komĩ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komĩ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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d) "Wyógõ" or Tuxáua (local chief).

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In each maloca or povoado there is a chief or Tuxaua, in Tukano Wyógõ (or Vyógõ), a term that is probably derived from Wi'ĩ, house (94).

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94. The title of Capitão was granted, at the time of the Capitanias, by the provincial Government to the Tuxauas, as a stimulus for attracting them toward contact with the civilized and to take advantage of their influence in order to obtain Indians for the services of public utility. At certain times it went so far as to give them a military uniform, sword, and a monthly salary.

/461/ Originally he would be the head of the family, continuing his paternal power or domestic authority. His is an authority directive and as guardian over the local group of families.

Besides his power and his obligations, as husband and father of his family (and he will do all the tasks, like any other head of a family), it is incumbent upon him to watch over the execution of the traditional laws, to preside and direct the social functions. It falls to him, then, to supervise the construction of the maloca, the cleaning of the adjacent grounds, of the landing place, and of the roads giving access to it (tasks sometimes performed by the women of the maloca under the supervision of the chief's wife), the general and collective fishing, as well as the religious and profane feasts and the periodic dances.

He is the representative of the local group in its relations with other groups, with other tribes, or with the civilized. He stipulates the conditions and, afterwards, chooses and sends the men requested for the services of the whites. He is always obeyed, and, perhaps for this reason, he never uses an imperious, threatening tone.

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[595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710/) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6)). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

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96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--703 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc. became famous. During the first years, as well as in the middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principals on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.
2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.
3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.
4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wanana, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.
7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.
8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

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562 622 159 562 622 The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

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101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

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622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komĩã́, 623 the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõã́-kurá; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

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102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always 622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in 648 contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

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619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
• 648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
● 648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervising terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*. And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was succored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married. The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our interest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency. This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists.

Hehénewa In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobáwa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Orobáwa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbuawü*.

Byá-Hehénewa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

Watharíwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbuawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacúrêwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Watharíwa A subsib of the *Watharíwa* on the Vaupés.

Urérariwa Perhaps a subsib of the *Watharíwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Buü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahûkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

Bahûküdjauwü A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahûkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahûkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapés*.

Bahukuonówa A subsib of the *Bahûküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

Bahûkübuauwü A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose emergence site was the Querarí *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahûkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

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Pedíkwa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahûkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toídibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedí-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátokañó*.

Kenánikauwü A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramiri* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toídibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

Kenámbwawa A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

Utciwaiwa Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahûkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapés* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyí *igarapés*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Baryáwatiwaiwa A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

Piarówa A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querarí.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokókübewũ A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batóua Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapé*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ilhéadoua A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí.

Kóua A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *carhoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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day the *Bordwa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mekhamótewu yawiwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pwéntewũ – the people came out
tcúntcawa – and shed (their anaconda skins)
hahádami – they went forward
waré borikapindo – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
opéko tamána – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
emintakori – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
kanúrũbo – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
bwũhũrũkũwũ – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
byátakwe – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
kwábebo – the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
borikabo – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
opéko tawá – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
nahó pwãnwa – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
waokún – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi updkü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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754 694 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle [756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man [622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

WARFARE (*bwaino*)

721 [615] [614] People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently exchanged wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahükiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for [614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a [648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war [114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert. [723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past.

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*.

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí.

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí.

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aiyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1919, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yavi* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yavi* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yavi* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yavi* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duwáyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated [758] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yavi* as jaguar seems genuine enough. 754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to 756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against (648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

122 bought. Pins, needles, reels of thread, mirrors, brightly-coloured combs and extra fish-hooks to supplement those Donald had already brought from England were all found in the market area. After hours of haggling we would wend our way homewards, laden with tins, paraffin lamps, rope, candles and many other items. Up to the very last moment we were packing endless supplies into plastic bags and rubber bags, inside kitbags and into tins which we had painted bright red to cheer us up in the green forest.

Early on the morning of the 15th a truck arrived; we loaded and left for the airbase, only to find the boat would not fit into the Catalina. They had been trying since six in the morning. There was nothing we could do, we had to take the flight or not go at all. So we left, without Nestor and without our boat. We had luckily sent the fuel ahead to Mitú in a cargo plane.

We slowly climbed above Bogotá and thence across the Eastern Cordillera towards the Llanos. As we landed at Villavicencio the oppressive heat seeped into the aircraft. Situated directly underneath the foothills of the Cordillera, it is the port of entrance to the Llanos and the tropical forests bordering the plains to the south. Here ranchers ride the streets, tether their horses and carouse in the beer saloons till dawn; then they return to their *fincas* deep in the plains. From here the rivers run east, to the Orinoco and then to the Atlantic.

We continued on our way southwards over undulating grasslands, then over unbroken forest. Suddenly we entered a storm and, as we bumped up and down, became lost in swirling rain. An hour later we emerged and a ridge appeared on the horizon. Beyond, the wide brown Vaupés with a straggling line of painted wooden houses broke the unending carpet of green. We landed on the white sandy strip of Mitú; once a rubber boom town, now a lonely outpost settlement and mission station, an oasis in the forest.

• 648 Earlier we had heard we might find it difficult to make friendly contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Very few white men had been able to enter the river, either from its source or its mouth, since the beginning of the century, when the most brutal atrocities had been committed by the Casa Arana[1]. This rubber company, financed by British and Peruvian interests, had extracted rubber from north-west Amazonia to export it down the Amazon through Manaos. The camp chiefs established themselves as potentates and were greatly feared. Their labour was entirely drawn from the Indians whom they treated not as human beings but as slaves. Women were raped, men who displeased their masters brutally murdered, those who failed to carry sufficient loads had their hands slashed off with machetes and were left to die. Many spent their lives in chains. So serious were the atrocities that in 1912 Sir Roger Casement brought the matter before the House of Commons. Many Indians retreated into the Amazon's remoter tributaries.

[1] The atrocities were in the Putumayo region – not the Piraparaná – but their influence was felt throughout north-west Amazonia.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

El Diablo

Today the *caucheros* still avoid the Piraparaná. Only a few years previously one had entered and tried to take an Indian's wife. He was shot with poisoned arrows and savagely cut to pieces. Two botanists had travelled some distance up the river from its mouth, but no one had descended its entire course. At Mitú only Padre Elorza was able to give us first-hand information. Young and zealous, he had been the first missionary to enter the Piraparaná, one month before we arrived. He had travelled half-way down the river and then turned up a tributary to Brazil. A wooden canoe could withstand the rough journey, he said; an aluminium one would not only be too wide for the creeks of the headwaters but would get ripped on the boulders. A suitable canoe, with a hollowed tree-trunk base and sides built up with planks, was lying half-filled with water in the mud at the side of the Vaupés; it belonged to the Mission but he thought the Monseñor might lend it to us. He also told us that his Spanish-speaking guide, an Indian from the Brazilian tributary he had ascended, was still in Mitú and he advised us to take him. He knew the river and he spoke the Tukano dialects. So we employed José, a small and somewhat shifty-looking man, together with his more genial brother, Uriel. We would pay them in pesos and feed them; they would take us to the Piraparaná and from there return to their home. From Padre Elorza we also learnt that two Persian anthropologists had reached the first house on the river only the year before. They had arrived earlier in the season than ourselves, stayed two weeks with the Indians and then returned to Mitú. The headwater streams still had had water in them. We were not to be so lucky.

That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres, their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peaceful and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés. It seemed a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see. We walked back to the wooden house of the Commissioner where our host Don Alonso, wizened and immaculate, sat listening to the radiogram beneath an old tarnished chandelier – Mitú had known better days. Don Alonso insisted we drank beer and *aguadiente* and met everyone in his town; the negro who could repair the canoe and whose wife cooked delicious mealy *tamales*; the doctor and nurses from the hospital; the mechanic to test the outboard motors; many *caucheros* and finally a young Argentinian dentist who aimed to make his fortune capping people's teeth with gold. His price was high, but he would accept crude rubber, pelts and crocodile skins as payment before he moved on to the next outpost. The evening ended in hilarity as we danced to scratched seventy-eights revolving on a gramophone whose coiled trumpet betrayed its age.

Next morning before dawn, our thick heads were stirred by resounding hymns. It was Sunday and the Mission had their loudspeakers at work to call the town to Mass. We too went inside the crowded church. Later that day

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

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582 to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[8]

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797 A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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• 648 The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

[P.672-A]

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672 - B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the preconditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned. Much language-learning (especially of linguae francae) takes place within the peer group. Among closely related languages, a stage of "semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) may be important in learning. Informants estimate that it takes them from at least one to two years to learn a new language fluently, regardless of language family. Most of them also estimate that it takes longer to learn Spanish than to learn Tukano or another Eastern Tukanoan language.

191 An Indian, then, does not want to try to
197 speak a language until he knows it quite well. He is conscious of his pronunciation in it and deliberately tries to sound like an authentic speaker. Each language has its own phonetic niceties, nuances of voice placement, and other details of accent not unlike the sort that distinguish some regional dialects of American English. Some languages (e.g., Tukano, Desano, Kubeo) exhibit more than one accent because they have regional dialects. There is such a phenomenon, then, as speaking Tukano with a Tuyuka accent, and vice versa, although many Tuyukas speak Tukano without a Tuyuka accent. A mild Siriano accent is acceptable to speakers of the Upper Papurí River dialect of Tukano, where the Siriano tribe is located. A Tukano child of this area with a Siriano mother who has a Siriano accent in her Tukano will himself speak Tukano without a Siriano accent.

191 The early non-Indians who started coming
• 648 into the area brought with them another language as lingua franca: Nheengatú (Inekatú), also called Tupí, and also commonly referred to as *lingoa geral* (which means "lingua franca" in Portuguese) or just "Geral." This is a Tupí-Guaraní language, and it is still spoken, even monolingually, along many portions of the Rio Negro by the detribalized Indian and White-Indian population, collectively known as *caboclos*. Nheengatú spread as the lingua franca of the early rubber boom days, 1875–1920. When the rubber boom declined with the development of rubber plantations in Malaysia, the use of Nheengatú declined also. Now only some older people in

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191 • 648 the multilingual area described in this report know Nheengatú. Some younger people can repeat lists of words and forms in it, but they do not speak it. According to informants, it can be heard conversationally in the lower portions of the Vaupés, but I have not heard it used conversationally in the Middle Vaupés [791] region. It was originally brought up the Amazon and to the Rio Negro by the Jesuits as the language of instruction; and it was well established there by the 18th century, when a contest with Portuguese began (Martius 1867). Its grammar, originally adapted from a Latin model, was artificially built on a Tupí-Guaraní base similar to that of present-day Guaraní.

191 After Nheengatú, Portuguese came in as another lingua franca. It is now the language of the non-Indians on the Brazilian side of the border and the language taught in the mission schools there.

On the Colombian side, Spanish is the official lingua franca. There was much learning of Spanish in the rubber-gathering area during the rubber boom, and Spanish superseded Nheengatú as the dominant lingua franca there. The increasing importance of Spanish at the expense of Portuguese and the already fading Nheengatú coincided with a change in the rubber industry: to extract the *siringa* type of rubber, found in abundance in the Upper Vaupés River and Upper Apaporis River region of interior Colombia, instead of the less valuable but more widespread *balata* type found in both Colombia and Brazil. The stability of Tukano during this period of change probably enhanced its position as a lingua franca. The Upper Vaupés–Upper Apaporis region is just outside of the culture area being described in this paper, and it includes Indian workers who have come in from still other culture areas. While the knowledge of Spanish is spreading, via this rubber-gathering area, into the adjacent culture areas, the knowledge of Tukano is also spreading.

191 648 For about 20 years there has been a concerted attempt to teach Colombian Indians Spanish in the schools. Perhaps one-third to one-half of the Indians already know Spanish as a second lingua franca. Many learned it when, as youths, they worked a few years in the rubber-gathering area. Theirs is good, understandable, and effective Spanish, although it may lack the subjunctive and certain other details of normative grammar. It

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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• 648

cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

The One Language/One Culture Image

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As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

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